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Killings push S Africa nearer to anarchy

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

SOUTH Africa appeared to be drifting towards chaos yesterday as violence continued to make a mockery of the so-called peace process, and the trade union movement announced a general strike.

Another 13 people were reported killed in political violence overnight, including four shot dead at a taxi-rank in the centre of Johannesburg. The killings bring the death toll to at least 31 since gunmen sparked the latest flare-up by attacking mourners at the funeral of an assassinated ANC leader, Sam Ntuli, in Thokozwa township near Johannesburg on Monday.

Yesterday's casualties included three people killed and 10 injured when gunmen attacked passengers on a commuter train, police said. Passengers seized two of the attackers, who were detained by police.

The two-day national strike on November 4 and 5 has been called in protest at the government's introduction of Value Added Tax. The unions want more food items and services exempted from VAT, which was introduced at the end of September to replace the general sales tax.

The strike call is backed by the African National Congress, whose secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, has promised to create a "nightmare" for President F. W. de Klerk on the issue. The ANC has seized on the VAT issue as a focus for demands that the government agree to an interim administration to lead South Africa into the post-apartheid era.

While political violence rages on in the townships, the efforts by peace-makers to halt it are also continuing. Yesterday saw another peace conference, this time staged by the Anglican primate, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, to try and end a taxi-war with political overtones which has been fought on the outskirts of Cape Town.

"Enough is enough," the archbishop told 300 delegates at the one-day gathering. "We are sick and tired of this mindless violence. The violence gripping the black townships is a Frankenstein that will not be satisfied with wreaking havoc only there."

The taxi war is ostensibly being fought between two rival taxi organisations squabbling over routes. But behind the clash of commercial interests lies a web of intrigue involving white financiers and police racketeering, as well as political rivalry.

Calling for a judicial inquiry into allegations of police in-

volvement in the violence, Archbishop Tutu said: "We want to get to the bottom of it all. We need an efficient, professional, unbiased police force. Clearly the perception of many is that our police force, by and large, is none of these things. There are good policemen, but the experience of black people is that the police have not been their friends."

● Zimbabwe's President, Robert Mugabe, yesterday left open the possibility that President De Klerk could be invited to attend next week's Commonwealth summit in Harare, *Andrew Meldrum in Harare writes.*

Announcing that the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, had been invited, Mr Mugabe said the 45 Commonwealth leaders could decide also to ask Mr De Klerk.

Mr Mugabe said he would like the Commonwealth to encourage the South African government to continue moving to majority rule.

"De Klerk is not to feel he is a culprit. We would like to see him keep making changes until South Africa is irreversibly on the road to majority rule. The Commonwealth has a role to help bring that about," Mr Mugabe said.

The summit, he added, would also emphasise the need for democracy in all Commonwealth countries.

ANC floats plan to share white assets

David Beresford
in Port Elizabeth

THE ANC has sent more tremors through South Africa's whites with proposals that one third of their assets be pooled for redistribution among blacks.

The idea was met with predictable indignation from the white establishment, the Johannesburg Sunday Times denouncing it as "loony" and the leader of the moderate Democratic Party, Zach de Beer, warning that it represented a reversion to communism.

The scheme, based on Germany's creation of an equalisation fund to try to encourage economic parity in the wake of reunification, was just one idea floated at a constitutional conference at the weekend.

Legal experts from various parts of the world spent three days debating with ANC officials the morality and feasibility of redistributing wealth.

The importance of the issue to the overall constitutional debate was spelt out in a speech from Nelson Mandela, read out to the conference, in which he warned of the need to break out of the "cycle of over-privilege and under-privilege".

Pointing out that the privileges of the minority population still existed, he said "Each white child still gets five times as much spent on his or her education as a black child does. The per capita expenditure by the state on health care for the whites is still four times more than for blacks."

If ever there was a national issue "requiring the wisdom and experience of all South Africans as well as the input of our friends abroad" it was how to redress this imbalance by affirmative action.

He added: "Just as there is no easy walk to freedom, so there

is no simple ride to equality. We have to work for it, calmly, intelligently, and in a principled way."

Mr Mandela pointed out to the conference that affirmative action was not likely "to be a vote loser" in South Africa.

The ANC leader returned to the theme in a speech to predominantly Indian businessmen in Durban, telling them: "We have no ideological attachment to nationalisation, but it's the only effective way to ensure there's an equal distribution of wealth. We say to the business community: 'If you have a better alternative tell us, and if it's effective, we'll abandon nationalisation'."

Mr Mandela also used the occasion to hit back at recent attacks by President F. W. de Klerk on the ANC, saying the National Party was the "last to teach us about democracy."

He repeated the charge that Mr De Klerk counted black life cheap. "By doing virtually nothing about it, we regard him as an accomplice in this violence."

Meanwhile, police yesterday reported another 11 people killed in political violence over the previous 24 hours, eight died, and 12 were wounded, in shooting incidents in the East Rand township of Vosloorus.

At the KTC squatter camp near Cape Town — where a peace accord was agreed last week between political groupings and rival taxi associations to try to end a long-running taxi war with political overtones — six people were shot and injured when a minibus came under automatic gun fire. The vehicle was thought to have been mistaken for a taxi.

Police shot dead an ANC activist who, they said, had opened fire on a police patrol in Soweto township yesterday. An ANC official said the victim was shot in the back.





John Carlin examines the political implications of township violence in South Africa

Killings make a nonsense of democracy

IN A measure of just how numbed South African society has become to the slaughter in the black townships, the liberal Johannesburg *Star* carried a story headlined "Silent gunmen slay 10 in Soweto" in the bottom half of its front page yesterday.

The main story concerned the "shock" among businessmen at a proposal from the African National Congress (ANC) for the introduction of wealth tax. Alongside that, above "the fold", was a story about three white teenagers "killed in pre-dawn car smash".

Down the page, readers learnt how, at 7pm on Sunday in Soweto, 20 men who, according to the police, were seen coming out of an Inkatha-dominated hostel, opened fire in a crowded pub, miraculously killing only 10. Those who cared to read on would have learnt that in Vosloorus township, on the other side of Johannesburg, gunmen had opened fire on a family watching television in their home, killing three.

That brought the total number of recorded killings during the past week in the black townships to 60 — five short of the total in Northern Ireland for the year, as reported in yesterday's South African newspapers.

That a general numbness has set in during a 15-month period in

which well over 3,000 blacks have been killed, and not one person has been convicted is, perhaps, understandable. What is surprising is the failure of the South African chattering classes fully to assimilate that the violence is by far and away the most important political issue of the day.

Invigorating though it is to get into a lather about the ANC's painfully confused economics, stimulating as is the debate on the shape of the post-apartheid constitution, challenging as it is to range over the possible "mechanisms for the democratic transition", it will all remain academic unless the causes of the violence are discovered and uprooted.

Why? Very simply, because the violence makes nonsense of democracy — the very objective on which the main political players say they are set — and ensures that politics continues to be conducted the way it always been has during the apartheid years — at the end of the barrel of a gun.

All one need do is imagine an all-race election in a year's time with the sinister killer mafia still unchecked. Only the most hardened wishful thinker in the government would imagine that the ANC would fail to emerge as the majority party. But only the most demented ANC dreamer would

imagine that winning this election would mean winning power, that government would equal power.

For as a growing number of people within diplomatic circles in South Africa, within opposition parliamentary and legal circles have come to accept, elements within the security forces are, at the very least, fanning, at worst, orchestrating, the violence. Such forces would render any black government completely ineffectual — assuming of course they chose not to overthrow it.

The serious question — increasingly a subject of debate — is how high up the orders for the killings go. Most people outside the ANC do not believe that FW de Klerk himself is directing the violence.

The ANC logic is that the violence suits Mr de Klerk's principal strategic goal, the retention of National Party political control beyond apartheid. The violence has disastrously undermined the ANC's capacity to organise, not least as it becomes increasingly high-risk to be identified with the ANC; and it has undermined the ANC's image among black people as the all-conquering, all-powerful redeemer.

Most important, it has successfully projected the critical perception among whites, the international community and even South



A woman learns that a member of her family was killed when gunmen attacked a bar in Soweto

African blacks themselves that, as one high-ranking ANC official bitterly put it: "Blacks are a bunch of savages, how can you expect them to run a country?"

Against this logic, as Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, argued last week: why on earth would the

South African government push so eagerly abroad for foreign investment and at the same time promote something so damaging to that enterprise? The answer to that, perhaps, is that the government believes the most damaging outcome of all for foreign invest-

ment and the economy would be a black government.

But perhaps Mr Botha is telling the truth. In which case the kindest interpretation of the government's behaviour must lead to the appalling conclusion that the government has lost control.

Thursday 10 October 1991

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Pattern emerges in SA massacres

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

If there was ever much doubt that the massacres which have become a commonplace in South Africa are planned, there can be little left after the slaughter of 18 mourners in Thokoza township east of Johannesburg on Monday night.

Thokoza adjoins Katlehong, the scene of the previous such massacre, in the second week of September, when 57 people were killed. And the similarities between the two incidents are striking.

In September, at least three gunmen made a co-ordinated attack on a crowd of marchers; just as, on Monday, the killers ambushed a funeral procession. This time, according to eyewitness reports, the gunmen, travelling in three unmarked saloon cars and a minibus, made a co-ordinated attack on an estimated 12,000 mourners marching between the two townships after the funeral of a community and ANC leader, Sam Ntuli.

Almost as striking as the similarities between the two massacres was one distinction: the identity of the victims. Whereas September's attack was on followers of the Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week's dead were of course supporters of the rival ANC.

If, as seems highly likely, the two attacks were carried out by the same quarter, it points to a Machiavellian ruthlessness startling even in a South African context.

But then the murder of Mr Ntuli himself — assassinated last week by the usual unidentified gunmen — had all the hallmarks of extreme cynicism as well. He had played a pivotal role in the past year in trying to bring about a reconciliation between Inkatha and ANC factions in the area. The day before he was killed he had participated in peace talks. His choice as a target was clearly motivated by a desire to encourage political tensions, as was yesterday's massacre.

As to the identity of the killers, it was difficult yesterday to avoid feeling at least a degree of sympathy with Nelson Mandela.

In one of his most outspoken attacks on the President, the ANC leader said: "De Klerk has let loose his hounds against the people." The ANC said the police had stood by and allowed the massacre to take place, without any attempt at apprehending the gunmen.

"How could they just drive away, when there was a police helicopter overhead and the road was lined by police trucks?" demanded the ANC spokeswoman, Gill Marcus.

She accused the government of "dragging its feet" on the implementation of the recently signed multi-party peace accord.

"They have not done enough, not at all, and this is a matter of extreme urgency now or the peace accord will be destroyed before it has even got off the ground," she said.

The President seemed blissfully unaware of sentiment in the townships, and confident that the problems the country faced were entirely to be blamed on the ANC.

Addressing the Cape conference of his ruling National Party, and focusing on recent statements by ANC leaders in favour of nationalisation, Mr De Klerk charged that the liberation movement was "in the clutches of radical and communist elements" and no friend "of South Africans struggling to make ends meet".

With reference to its economic policies, he said: "One might almost call the ANC and its allies spoilers: through their words and deeds they are standing in the way of what the vast majority of all South Africans really want."

The President continued: "Every time Mr Mandela preaches nationalisation, or hugs a Castro or an Arafat, a shudder goes through the international community and it asks a simple question: Can the ANC ever be trusted to play a constructive role?"

SA train victims capture attackers

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

AFTER 15 months of terror on Johannesburg's trains, in which rampaging gunmen have killed more than 70 commuters, the victims finally struck back yesterday, capturing and severely beating two attackers after they had killed three and wounded 12 in yet another rush-hour shooting spree. The two were in hospital last night under police custody.

The police, however, refused all day to release their names or their whereabouts for fear, as spokesman Captain Eugene Opperman said, of jeopardising investigations.

African National Congress officials said last night they suspected that the coyness of the police to reveal details was based on other considerations. For the ANC believes that the train killings, of which there have been more than 25 since the middle of last year, have been part of a concerted strategy by elements within the security forces, sometimes linked to the Zulu Inkatha party, to spread division and confusion in the black population through terror.

Yesterday the police would go no further than to say that the attack took place between Katlehong and Wadeville stations at about 6.45am — the busiest time for township commuters. They confirmed that the passengers who were being attacked overpowered and captured the two gunmen.

Through sources at Natalspruit Hospital, where the two captured men were taken yesterday morning, it was possible to piece together a clearer picture of events than the police were willing to provide. Natalspruit Hospital is some eight miles from Johannesburg in the boundary between the

townships of Katlehong and Tokoza. Tokoza was where unknown gunmen assassinated a leading local ANC figure ten days ago and where on Monday evening more gunmen gunned down 12 ANC supporters in an ambush.

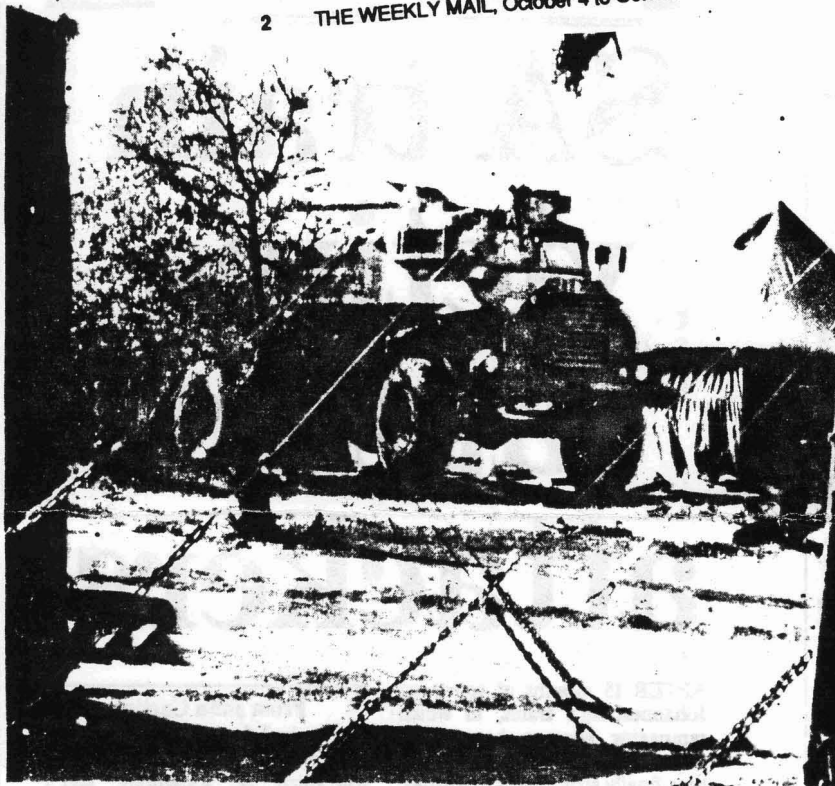
The names the two men gave hospital staff were Albert Dlamini and Simon Ngomane, hospital sources said. Mr Ngomane would not provide an address to hospital staff, who were not sure that he had given them his real name. But Mr Dlamini, who said he was 29, was more forthcoming. He said he lived at Katlehong single men's hostel — an Inkatha stronghold — and worked at a particular factory in Johannesburg which, upon investigation, was found to be true. Dlamini is a Zulu name.

According to hospital staff, at about 9.30am a group of men identifying themselves as Inkatha supporters approached the ward where the two men were being treated and complained that they had been assaulted by the nurses upon arrival. Violence seemed about to erupt in the hospital itself when the police arrived and took the two away, providing a police escort for an ambulance which took them to an unknown destination. Although they were seriously assaulted by the commuters who captured them, neither man was in danger. They were said to be able to walk and talk.

As to the mystery over how the commuters were able to overpower men with guns, one clue was provided by a report that Mr Dlamini's rifle — believed to be an AK-47 — ran out of bullets.

Brits camp a base for

2 THE WEEKLY MAIL, October 4 to October 10 1991



Camp life ... A Hippo nestles between the rows of tents

Photo: GUY ADAMS

A MYSTERY base near Brits in the Northern Transvaal houses former members of Koevoet, the notorious South West African counter-insurgency unit, who are alleged to collaborate with the security forces in operations against members of the African National Congress.

The *Weekly Mail* visited the base at Moordkop this week and was told by some of the residents — former Koevoet fighters from Owamboland and Angola — that they worked for police, received regular monthly salaries, that their work took them to far-flung corners of South Africa and that they underwent special training.

The fighters from Koevoet, a South African Police unit that achieved notoriety for atrocities committed against Swapo fighters and civilians during the war in Namibia, have allegedly been seen travelling around the local township in Hippos looking for members of the ANC-aligned civic organisation.

ANC intelligence clearly suspect the involvement of former Koevoet members in political killings. After the killing last weekend of civic leader Sam Ntuli, ANC president Nelson Mandela blamed the government for importing "the death squads that have been killing our brothers in Namibia. They have brought them here. They are operating here".

ANC activists from Hartbeesfontein, a township near the Koevoet base, this week alleged they were the targets of a harassment campaign being carried out by men from the camp travelling

Peace in Namibia supposedly signalled the end of the activities of the feared SA police unit Koevoet, but ex-members of the group have been discovered operating from a base in the Northern Transvaal.

GAYE DAVIS reports

ing in armoured vehicles, seeking out community activists.

Hartbeesfontein's township manager, PJJ Opperman, said he knew of the camp's existence but nothing further. Asked who was in charge, he gave the telephone number of Brits "security police".

Hartbeesfontein residents, who have opposed government attempts to be incorporated into Bophuthatswana, now fear that the men could be used to force them to comply.

"We suspect that the state wants to use them as vigilantes," said Solly Phetoe, general secretary of the Hartbeesfontein Civic Association. "If they want to incorporate us, they can use them."

"During night and day they are driving Hippos through our area. When they drink in the shebeens they are asking where the civic leaders are," Phetoe said. Attempts by the community to get clarity on the camp from local authorities had been fruitless.

Inside the camp this week, many of the camp's male residents were seen walking around in paramilitary uni-

ex-Koevoet members

forms of green khaki trousers, light-coloured shirts, boots and fatigue caps.

Members of the base, who live there with their families, said they were given South African passports — despite South African immigration requirements that foreigners need to live in this country for five years before applying for citizenship.

An Owamban who served with the South West African Territorial Force's 202 Battalion at Rundu, said he arrived at the camp earlier this month in the company of "seven Koevoet".

"Ultimately this is a Koevoet camp," he said. "When Koevoet people come here, they get jobs immediately because they were once with the police. They (the police) look after their own people."

The first contingent of ex-Koevoet members were brought to the camp in January 1989. The Owambo said he and his companions had come under their own steam, having learned of the camp and its whereabouts by word of mouth.

On arrival, he was told to report to a South African Defence Force base near Brits, but was being allowed to remain at the camp, he said.

"We are all refugees. The people at home hate us because they say we helped the South Africans fight against Swapo. If we stayed there, we would be killed. It is difficult for us here, but we have no choice."

He was hoping he would soon be issued with a passport so that he could return to Namibia to see his wife and children and possibly bring them back with him.



Telling signs ... The Owambo camp lies on the road to Moordkop near Rustenburg and Brits

Another camp member, an Angolan who speaks only Portuguese and Afrikaans, said he had crossed into Namibia in 1981 and had worked for the police ever since. He said his work now took him all over the country — "as far as Komatiport", he said.

Former SADF major Nico Basson said this week the deployment of former Koevoet and South West African Territory Force men formed part of a concerted strategy carried out by the special forces of the SADF and the SAP.

"Although they are police orientated, they are trained in special forces,"

Basson said. "They can operate in any areas posing as police — they can knock on doors and look for weapons, which the SADF can't do as easily."

In the wake of the Angolan/Namibian peace accord, the 3 000-strong Koevoet was said to have been disbanded. At the time, Namibian officials expressed scepticism about Foreign Minister Pk Botha's statement that Koevoet (which he said had been "surrounded by a lot of bad publicity") would be dismantled as a mark of goodwill.

A subsequent investigation by the

New York Times' Christopher Wren concluded that Koevoet's men were not being discharged — instead, units were remaining intact "while they are taught other police tasks". Wren said this "training" began in August 1988.

Soon after Namibian independence, the *Namibian* newspaper reported that former Koevoet members were being flown by Safair from Walvis Bay to Phalaborwa and Palmietfontein.

The Namibian government demanded and was given assurances by the South African Department of Foreign Affairs that the men would not be deployed against Namibia.

At the time it was said to be disbanded, Koevoet ranks were estimated at 90 percent black, mostly locally recruited Owambos — many of whom were illiterate. They were paid about R500 a month — high by northern Namibian standards.

In March last year, on the eve of Namibian elections, details of Koevoet's widespread harassment of Swapo supporters emerged in the Windhoek Supreme Court — backed by claims by ex-Koevoet members that the unit was still in effective operation.

Approached for comment, the SAP Public Relations division in Pretoria said: "The South African Police are planning to inform the media fully about the task of the ex-Koevoet members presently employed by the SA Police. For various reasons, this will not be possible in the next two days."

● Home Affairs officials were hastily despatched to Moordkop yesterday to check the passports and identity documents of residents of the camp.

Responding to queries from *The Weekly Mail*, a Home Affairs representative said: "The first we knew of the existence of this place was when we got your fax. We have sent out people to do an investigation but will not be able to give comment in time for your deadline."

He said there was an enabling clause in South Africa's citizenship act which "makes provision for people who served under the SADF in Namibia to become South African citizens" and that this had been employed in the case of members of the SADF's 31 and 32 Battalions who were brought back into South Africa after Namibian independence.

'Policemen in Inkatha shirts tortured me'

John Carlin in Tokoza township meets a victim of political violence with reason to be sceptical about F W de Klerk's reforms

MORE people have been assassinated since President FW de Klerk unbanned the African National Congress and released Nelson Mandela than during the previous 10 years.

Between 1980 and 1990, about 40 activists were killed by hit squads inside South Africa. According to the country's Human Rights Commission, more than 60 have been assassinated in the past 18 months — seven of them ANC supporters shot in the back of the head in Natal on 22 September.

At today's funeral of the most recent victim, Sam Ntuli, in Tokoza, the bloodiest of all Johannesburg's townships, Nelson Mandela and other black leaders are expected to point the finger yet again at sinister elements within the security forces bent on blocking black rule. Again, Mr de Klerk or one of his ministers may say: yes, OK, but bring us proof.

What the ANC might usefully do is ask Israel Mabote, a local youth leader, to give an account of what happened to him last week. This is what he would say: "Between 3am and 4am on Monday, 12 cops in camouflage uniform — some black, some white — came to my home and arrested me. I could see that five of them wore Inkatha Freedom Party T-shirts under their uniforms. They took me to a farm about six miles away and interrogated me.

"They accused me of killing Sam Ntuli. They accused me of killing Inkatha people at the massacre in Tokoza on 8 September. They said that I had an AK-47 and explosives. They said I was a member of MK [the ANC's military wing]. But they had no proof, because it was all untrue, and so they

said that if I did not admit to all this I would be made to feel pain."

Which was exactly what happened, according to Mr Mabote. "They took me to an old mine about half an hour's drive away, eight of them now. It was late morning. They stood around me in a circle and repeated their questions. When I denied everything again, they tied my hands behind my back, tripped me and tied my legs. They got a rubber tyre tube and wrapped it tightly around my face so I could not breathe. Then they put brake fluid inside my anus because that is the only place you can let out air if your nose and mouth are covered. Then they repeated the questions and then they kicked and put it over all over my body. This continued for about three hours."

Mr Mabote said he was taken back to the farm where he was again interrogated and beaten. His captors told him they would dump him inside one of Tokoza's Inkatha-controlled hostels that night — something the police are known to have done before and, as Mr Mabote said, in effect a death sentence.

By this stage, Mr Mandela and other ANC leaders had personally intervened with the authorities on Mr Mabote's behalf, and at 2.30pm on Tuesday he was released. "Their final words were that I would not rest, that they would be on my neck all the time."

Mr Mabote and other activists were not very impressed to read in yesterday's newspapers that Mr de Klerk had, for the first time, publicly apologised for the sins of apartheid, telling a Japanese paper that he was "very, very sorry" and "glad that period has passed".

Tortured black boy jailed for stealing TV set

IN ORDINARY circumstances, even in FW de Klerk's brave new South Africa, the sentencing of a 16-year-old black youth to jail for stealing a television set would pass relatively unnoticed. The reason why *The Sowetan* blazed the news across yesterday's front page was that, in an earlier trial, a white farmer found to have welded the very same youth to a table and set him alight received a suspended sentence and a fine of 5,000 rand (£1,000).

A magistrate in the northern Transvaal town of Louis Trichardt rejected Frank Mokwati's plea of not guilty and convicted him on the basis of police evidence that his fingerprints had been found at the scene of the alleged robbery. The television set itself was never recovered.

The magistrate sentenced Mokwati to an unspecified period in a juvenile prison, which means he could be kept behind bars until he is 21. Although, as the Pretoria-based Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) organisation said in a statement yesterday, the government is legally empowered through the Department of Correctional Services to release Mokwati immediately on humanitarian grounds.

The LHR statement, pondering whether Mokwati's life might be worth less than a television set, wondered what one should make "of the oft-repeated insistence of the State President that discrimination based on skin colour is a thing of the past".

Johan van der Westhuizen, the farmer found guilty last month of the attempted murder of Mokwati, walked free after paying his 5,000 rand fine and acceding to a condition that he pay Mokwati 40,000 rand in damages.

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

In uncontested evidence before the court, Mokwati said van der Westhuizen had punched and kicked him all over his body; had welded a chain around his feet; had welded his left hand to a steel table; had poured petrol over him and set him alight using sparks from the welder; and had then laughed as the youth, who took four months to recover from his burns, screamed in pain.

Mokwati also told the court that van der Westhuizen had called over a policeman who kicked him as, still welded to the table, he writhed in pain. The policeman, who was not charged, then handcuffed him and took him to the police station where he was kept for several hours before being taken to hospital.

In Mokwati's trial this week his lawyer cited all of the above in mitigation of sentence and brought it to the magistrate's attention that, accordingly, black people might look unfavourably on a decision to imprison the youth. The lawyer also argued that the traumatic experience of being nearly burnt to death had changed the boy's behaviour, that he would not adjust to prison life, that three previous convictions had been motivated by poverty and that the 40,000 rand award he received last month might be expected to restrain his pilfering instincts.

Unmoved, the magistrate said he would leave the exact length of the jail sentence to the prison authorities. As police officers led Mokwati out of the courtroom to take his fingerprints, he broke down and wept.

THE INDEPENDENT

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 THE INDEPENDENT

Monday 7 October 1991

THE South African Defence Force has recently had direct involvement in the affairs of Zaire, Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda, Botswana and Kenya, according to independent Africa specialists and recent international press reports.

Information on several of these countries has been verified by *The Weekly Mail*. Most of the reports have been denied by the SADF.

This comes at a time when the government and the African National Congress are considering a draft Code of Conduct for the SADF whose provisions include non-aggression against neighbouring states and a ban on SADF members being used as mercenaries. These measures are being strongly proposed by the ANC but are being resisted by some elements in the security forces.

ZAIRE: An international relations consultant who travelled via Zaire to Abidjan recently reported to *The Weekly Mail* that a group of SADF officers on his flight had disembarked at Kinshasa airport. And according to *Africa Confidential* sources "South African mercenaries" have recently been seen in Zaire.

Military spokesman Commandant AH Louw confirmed that the SADF had trained a Zairean army infantry column in "basic conventional infantry tasks".

According to a recent SADF press release 15 instructors from the SADF's 44 Parachute Brigade spent six weeks — from May 6 to June 21 1991 — training the Zairean soldiers. Prior to the course, an SADF work team helped prepare unused living quarters for the company, and a "limited quantity of equipment and kit" was also supplied.

"This assistance follows the assistance which was given last year to the Zairean navy as part of the RSA's attempt to establish and strengthen diplomatic relations with its neighbours".

KENYA: Four senior South African military specialists arrived in Kenya at the end of June this year, according to a recent report from Kampala by the Lisbon-based news agency Inter Press Service. It said the men were based in Eldoret in Western Kenya.

According to Steve Ellis, of the Leyden-based African Studies Centre, there have been several reports recently that Renamo has transferred its external bases to Kenya. Ellis, a former editor of *Africa Confidential*, said he received reports that when Kenya took over the Renamo training in 1988, South African military intelligence officers travelled to Kenya.

According to the documents released by the Mozambican government, Kenya has been involved in providing direct support to Renamo rebels, at least since 1988. The papers, captured from a Renamo base in Sofala province in April, indicate that the Kenyan government — with the direct approval of President Daniel Arap Moi, has provided logistical and financial support for Renamo in collusion with Malawi.

The SADF 'reaches out' to its neighbours

The SADF has continued to provided aid to defence forces and rebel movements in various African countries.

GAVIN EVANS reports

Recent reports suggest this has occurred under the direction of the director general of the Kenyan Foreign Ministry, Bethuel Kiplagat.

The SADF denies that it has been involved in liaising with the Kenyan government over the issue of support for Renamo or that any of its members travelled to Kenya recently.

MOZAMBIQUE: Since the Nkomati Accord was signed in 1984 there have been frequent reports of continuing South African support for the Mozambican rebel group, Renamo. The most recent evidence that this support has continued came with last month's statement by former SADF special forces operative Felix Ndimene that he was abducted by the SADF in Mozambique, taken past a Renamo camp and forced to join 5 Recce battalion in 1982.

Ndimene, who resigned from the SADF seven months ago, said SADF special force members have bought farms in Mozambique to continue providing support for the rebels.

He also said that up to 90 percent of the members of 5 Recce were foreign nationals, many of them abducted from Mozambique and other African countries after SADF raids.

And according to Carlitos Joao Maria, a former SADF colleague of Ndimene's, 5 Recce were involved in sabotage attacks on trains in Mozambique, in support of Renamo. The claims have been denied by the SADF.

ANGOLA: At least until April this year, shortly before the ceasefire between Unita and the Angolan government, military aircraft from South Africa were flying over Botswana at night in what appeared to be a huge airlift of supplies to Unita.

The Weekly Mail obtained detailed information from sources in Botswana which corroborated Angolan government claims that South Africa had violated Botswana's airspace to fly war material to Angola. At the time Angola was claiming that South African Hercules C130 transport planes were dropping supplies at least twice daily into Angola to bolster Unita



forces engaged in a major offensive against the strategic town of Luena, in Moxico province.

A member of a conservation team based in Botswana told *The Weekly Mail* he personally monitored Dakotas flying every night over his camp in Botswana, in the direction of Jamba, between March 8 and March 17. He said there were three flights a night, except on Sundays when there was one flight.

In response to questions from *The Weekly Mail* an SADF spokesman said in April they were aware of "humanitarian flights undertaken by relief organisations at Unita's request", and confirmed that the Botswana government had been in contact with the South African

government in connection with possible violations of its air space.

He said South Africa had a "small liaison contingent" in Jamba to facilitate communications between South Africa and Unita, and said that no military equipment was being supplied by South Africa to Unita.

RWANDA: IPS reports that South Africa is arming the government of General Juvenal Habyarimana in its war against the Rwandese Patriotic Front (RPF).

It says staff at Kigali airport have reported "unscheduled" South African planes making regular landings to drop military and medical supplies to the land-locked central African state. The RPF is close to the Ugandan government, while the Rwanda government is reported to be supported militarily by Kenya.

In an interview in the Ugandan newspaper, *The Weekly Topic* two months ago, RPF chairman Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe is quoted as saying that his movement had seized "considerable quantities of South African-made weaponry", including missiles, artillery pieces and machine guns.

Asked to comment, the SADF referred the question to Armscor. Armscor said it was their policy "never to comment on the international procurement or sales of arms".

BOTSWANA: The Botswana newspaper, *Newslink*, is a front for the SADF's Military Intelligence, *The Weekly Mail* has established.

The paper's former managing editor, Barry Baxter, told *The Weekly Mail* that *Newslink* was funded and controlled by military intelligence, through the Pretoria-based communications company, Dixon-Soule Associates.

According to a former military intelligence major, Nico Basson, DSA is a government front company. It handles all press releases from the Bophuthatswana government. The SADF refused to confirm or deny the report.

● According to a recent IPS report from Kampala, South Africa may also be involved in support for Ugandan rebel groups.

A Ugandan military official is quoted as saying that his country was concerned that South Africa was assisting Kenya in arming rebels seeking to overthrow President Yoweri Museveni's government.

The report claims that South Africa's military interest arises from the fact that since early 1989 Umkhonto weSizwe has had most of its bases in Uganda. According to reports from sources close to British intelligence, the Ugandan government has been using MK guerrillas to fight rebels in the north of the country.

The SADF has denied any role in training or arming opponents of the Ugandan government, and there appears to be scepticism among African specialists about the claims.

In addition, South Africa's security forces have maintained close ties with Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi.

Storm brews around hunger striker

This week South Africa's ambassador to Bophuthatswana took food, drinks and cigarettes to a hospital patient. A humanitarian gesture? Hardly. The patient was a hunger-striking prisoner in an "emergency" condition. He has vowed to fast until he is dead, or is released. By

WALLY MBHELE

BOPHUTHATSWANA political prisoner Johannes Simelane reached the 40th day of his hunger strike on Friday. His deteriorating health bears little comparison to the condition of the three right-wing hunger strikers who were recently released on bail after staging a 60-day fast.

Simelane (26) fell into a coma last Saturday after 33 days of fasting. He was resuscitated and transferred from Thusong Hospital to Bophelong. The doctor's diagnosis underlined the words, "the above patient is an emergency".

A Dr Kitizo of Thusong Hospital wrote to the superintendent of Bophelong Hospital: "I suspect some brain damage. Kindly take over for special maintenance."

When *The Weekly Mail* visited Simelane early this week, he was weak, unable to walk or talk and only smiled when he was wished well.

He communicated by writing, noting that he felt a terrible pain between his legs as well as general weakness and dizziness.

In a note he handed to *The Weekly Mail* and the Mafikeng Anti-repression Forum (Maref) on Tuesday, he issued an ominous request to his doctors: "When I become unconscious the doctors must not bring me back to life again unless I'm released from prison. Even the glucose drip must be discontinued. I made this will of living voluntarily."

Sources in Bophuthatswana said Simelane's condition had caused a flurry of crisis meetings between the Bophuthatswana and South African governments.

A delegation of the Pretoria Council of Churches (PCC) also met Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Tuesday.

The Rev Jacob Mminele, who led the church delegation, told *The Weekly Mail* that Botha "was very positive about our concern and promised he



Johannes Simelane was transferred to Bophelong Hospital for "special maintenance"

Photo: WALLY MBHELE

would request the Bophuthatswana authorities to do something about the matter".

It is understood Botha contacted the South African ambassador in Mmabatho, Dr Willem Kotze, and the homeland's minister of justice, Godfrey Mothibi, on Tuesday.

Both men promised Botha that the "case of political prisoners was being reviewed and they were going to deal with Simelane's case next week", *The Weekly Mail* was told.

On Tuesday night Kotze and Mothibi visited Simelane in hospital in an attempt to persuade him to end his fast. He indicated that he would only do so after he was released.

The next morning, Kotze returned in the company of two Bophuthatswana Prisons Department officials. He offered Simelane food, fruit juice and cigarettes. Simelane refused them and when the ambassador departed, he left them at his bedside.

"This initiative by ambassador Kotze is clearly an attempt, in collusion with the Bophuthatswana authorities, to undermine Simelane's determination and to break his hunger strike. There is also the possibility that this may be the start of a crude attempt to discredit the hunger strike by starting rumours that Simelane is eating chocolates, in line with the allegations that were made recently in connection with the right-wing hunger strike," said a statement issued by Maref and the western Transvaal branch of the African Na-

tional Congress.

On Wednesday morning, Simelane insisted that his drip be removed. But that night he agreed to have the drip restored to maintain the fluid and electrolyte balance in his body, on condition it would not be used to administer glucose or any other substance which would constitute feeding.

In an open letter he wrote days before he lapsed into a coma, Simelane said he was not convinced that Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope was serious about releasing political prisoners. He said the release of 19 prisoners in September was a sideshow to distract the world's attention from their plight.

"I embarked on the hunger strike to demand the immediate release of all political prisoners in Bophuthatswana, in accordance with agreements reached between the ANC and the South African government," he wrote.

Simelane and another 165 prisoners were convicted of high treason after the 1988 attempted coup against Mangope, which was thwarted with the intervention of the South African Defence Force. He was sentenced to eight years' imprisonment.

The ANC and Maref held a picket outside the Bophuthatswana consulate at Commissioner street in Johannesburg on Thursday.

In a joint statement, the two organisations said: "At this stage we cannot afford a tragedy of this nature. It will

lead to polarisation and unleash immense anger."

The South African Council of Churches commented that Simelane's case was further evidence that the release of political prisoners posed a stumbling block to the start of negotiations. "It further buttresses our view that the international community still needs to maintain pressure on De Klerk's government towards the goal of attaining the end of apartheid in all its manifestations," said the Rev Frank Chikane.

Three other Bophuthatswana prisoners resumed their hunger strike on Tuesday, stating they had lost patience with the structure which the government was using to release them. "Our demand was, release or death," they said in a statement.

They also warned that more prisoners were considering following their lead if nothing was done to release them.

Writing from Bophuthatswana Central Prison, hunger striker Simon Keebine said he had decided to fast "until my last day and this is in everyone's mind presently".

At Bophelong Hospital, soon after they re-embarked on a hunger strike on Tuesday, Johannes Banda and Bushy Molefe said their continued imprisonment did not fit in with the reconstruction of a "new South Africa".

"We love life, but we are prepared to die," they said.

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8 October 1991

HUNGER STRIKERS IN BOPHUTHATSWANA, SOUTH AFRICA

'We love life, but we are prepared to die.'

Political prisoners in Bophuthatswana bantustan in South Africa continue their hunger strike, demanding they be released. Reports say that 62 men are involved, including the longest hunger striker, Johannes Simelan, today in his 51st day.

Tension in Bop rises by the day, as the hunger strikers grow weaker and as in the instance of Johannes Simelane, close to death. The situation was heightened by the arrest of members of the Black Sash, the longtime women's action group. They today pled guilty to conducting an unlawful gathering and were released after paying a fine of 400 Rand each.

The hunger strikers bear the brunt of suffering. The Bop regime also targets the activist organization Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum (MAREF). Attached news items relate to the above issues.

MESSAGES IN CONDEMNATION

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Here, courtesy of AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL, are persons in South Africa:

Mr R F Botha
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Department of Foreign Affairs
Private Bag X152
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Telegrams: Foreign Minister, Pretoria, S. Africa
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Dear Minister

Chief L M Mangope
President
Government Offices
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Telegrams: President Mangope, Bophuthatswana
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Dear President

Mr S G Mothibe
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Telegrams: Justice Minister, Bophuthatswana,

Dear Minister

Dr E H Venter
Minister of National Health
Department of National Health
Private Bag X399
Pretoria 0001, South Africa
Telegrams: Health Minister, Pretoria, South Africa
Telexes: 321320 SA or 321366 SA
Faxes: +27 12 323 0093

Dear Minister

South Africa

Dr D N C O B Khaole
Minister of Health and Social Services
Department of Health and Social Services
Government Offices
Mmabatho
Bophuthatswana, South Africa
Telegrams: Health Minister Khaole, Mmabatho, Bophuthatswana, South Africa
Faxes: (+27) 140 23846 Marked: Please forward to the Ministry of Health (this is the fax number for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Health has recently moved.)

Dear Minister



THE INDEPENDENT

Wednesday 16 October 1991

SA labour leaders convicted of kidnap

THE three most prominent leaders of the South African labour movement were yesterday convicted of assault and kidnap.

Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), which is allied to the African National Congress, Sidney Mufamadi, Mr Naidoo's deputy, and Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the metalworkers' union, face up to three years in jail when sentences are delivered today. They are to appeal. Mr Naidoo devised the National Peace Accord, intended to stop township murders, and signed by President F W de Klerk, the ANC's Nelson Mandela, and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the leader of Inkatha, last month.

On 28 August last year, a man was observed behaving strangely outside the Cosatu offices in Johannesburg and was dragged inside by union officials. He turned out to be carrying a two-way radio. Cosatu instantly summoned a press conference at which they obliged the man to make radio contact with police headquarters. He did so, eliciting a startled response from the officer at the other end.

The magistrate rejected the defence claim that the union officials had been justified in removing Monge Maleka, a security policeman, from the street and holding

From John Carlin
in Johannesburg

him in the Cosatu office for five-and-a-half hours. The magistrate was unmoved by the defence's contention that the accused had been continually persecuted in recent years by the security police and so had felt personally threatened by Constable Maleka.

Equally unconvincing in the magistrate's eyes was the testimony presented on Mr Naidoo's behalf by a businessman, Andre Lamprecht. Mr Lamprecht, who played a key role in setting up the National Peace Accord, said the entire project had been Mr Naidoo's brainchild.

The assault convictions were based on the judge's finding that Mr Naidoo had slapped Mr Maleka once and that all three men had made "common purpose" with other, unnamed individuals who also slapped him inside the Cosatu building. Mr Maleka, who was not seriously injured and did not go to hospital, told the court he had experienced headaches for a week after his ordeal.

Johannesburg's *Business Day* newspaper yesterday reported that police had yet to make any arrests after recent township attacks in which gunmen killed 33 people.

THE GUARDIAN
Thursday October 17 1991

Unspecified missile dealings cited in punitive embargo by Washington US ban deals big blow to South African arms maker

David Beresford
in Johannesburg

BOTH the US State Department and Pretoria are refusing to disclose the background to an extraordinary slap in the face for the South African weapons industry — in the form of a two-year, punitive embargo on its main arms manufacturer, Armscor.

Imposition of the embargo has gone largely unnoticed outside South Africa. It was imposed in the form of a "determination" at the end of last month by the State Department that Armscor had been "engaged in missile proliferation activities".

As a result, the US is imposing a two-year ban on dealings with the corporation, which will remain effective even if general sanctions are lifted.

Under its terms, licences for the export of "controlled" items to Armscor are to be denied; no US government contracts may be entered into with the corporation; and no Armscor products may be imported.

Coming at a time when the trend in US-South Africa relations is towards the lifting of sanctions, the embargo is a serious setback for arms makers here — who have been hoping that legitimate foreign markets would soon be opened up. Arms manufacturing is South Africa's largest export industry after mining and minerals.

US government officials and Armscor itself refuse to disclose what particular missile sales by South Africa attracted America's wrath. There is speculation that they could have involved Iraq, or possibly Israel, Chile, Iran, or Taiwan.

It is also possible that a recent case in which a secretary was convicted by a US court of being involved in the illegal sale of missile parts to

Pretoria may have been a factor. Beverly Barratt, aged 60, was sentenced earlier this month to six months' house detention — wearing a prison ankle bracelet — and given a suspended sentence after it had been found that she knowingly worked for a South African arms smuggler, Reginald van Rossum, who skipped the country before he could be arrested.

There is a suspicion among Armscor executives, however, that the US is using the arms proliferation issue to wipe out competitive arms producers in smaller countries.

The executive chairman of Armscor, Johan van Vuuren, recently accused the US and other permanent members of the UN Security Council of trying to establish an arms cartel under the new world order following the Gulf war. In an interview with *Jane's Defence Weekly*, Mr Van Vuuren said: "Basically they want to say who will buy what from whom."

The latest restriction comes at a time when Armscor is, paradoxically, well positioned to re-enter the international arms bazaar, with the lifting of trade sanctions against South Africa, and yet facing economic ruin.

As a result of experience in the Angola conflict, South Africa's weapons are tried and highly regarded in the industry. But with the end of that conflict and a 40 per cent cut in orders from the South African military, the corporation has had to lay off more than 6,000 employees, 25 per cent of its workforce.

Rated the world's 10th largest arms manufacturer two years ago, Armscor is now desperately trying to switch to civilian work; its rifle division is making cricket bats.

● Four black policemen yester-



Court fine . . . Jay Naidoo, head of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, was among three union leaders fined £400 yesterday for "kidnapping" a policeman who was spying on them. They dragged him in front of reporters

day admitted in the Pietermaritzburg supreme court that they had carried out a massacre in which 11 people were killed in 1988, but claimed that they did so on the direct orders of their station commander, Captain Brian Mitchell.

The captain and two other white officers are facing 11 charges of murder and eight of attempted murder, as are the four black "special constables".

All seven plead not guilty.

A local leader of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha organisation, Jerome Gabela, told the court yesterday that the massacre was carried out after he had asked Capt Mitchell for help in dealing with violence in the area. He said the captain had "x" armed policemen to stay at his house a few days before the attack was carried out.



Civic leader's assassination marks sharper political targeting by hit-squads

JOHANNESBURG/ Three weeks after the signing of the peace accord, political assassinations continue unabated: if anything the focus is sharpening on senior opposition officials and attacks increasingly clearly carried out by professionals.

The past week has seen the ongoing attacks claim their most senior political victim - Sam Ntuli, general secretary of the Civic Associations of the Southern Transvaal (Cast), and likely head of a soon-to-be launched national civic association federation was killed by two bursts of automatic rifle fire near his Tokoza home on Sunday morning.

Colleagues link his killing to his involvement 24 hours earlier, in his capacity as head of his local Tokoza Civic Association, in talks with local Inkatha officials on implementation of the peace accord in the troubled East Rand township - where 23 Inkatha members were shot dead a week before the accord was signed.

Police initially arrested then released 14 civic and ANC activists but have since made no arrests.

According to the *New Nation* newspaper, Ntuli was on a three-month old hit list and had been warned by a business source a day before his assassination.

Ntuli's assassination - his killers fired from their car after forcing him off the road - has provoked a tough response from the ANC and other opposition groupings, increasingly disillusioned that the accord has made little impact on hit-squad killings, increasingly the dominant form of political violence in the PWV urban complex around Johannesburg.

ANC information head Pallo Jordan described Ntuli's death as "a hit in typical gangland style", while Nelson Mandela said it proved the continued existence of hit-squads operating to ensure the government negotiated with a "weakened ANC".

There is, meanwhile, little evidence of changed police attitudes: senior officials continue to demand evidence from opposition critics.

And in Soweto a week before Ntuli's killing, police were quick to brand as suicide the killing of 22-year-old local ANC youth league official and communist party activist Papo Manyakalle, despite glaring inconsistencies in the evidence. Police this week continued to suggest they "do not suspect foul play" in his death.

Manyakalle's body was found seated

in the toilet outside his parents' Soweto home on the morning of September 20, a bullet hole in the left side of his head and the gun that apparently fired the shot placed neatly alongside a radio on his right.

The absence of blood on either the floor or the walls suggested strongly that he was killed elsewhere.

Manyakalle was last seen alive leaving a friend's house where he had spent the evening.

His family reported afterwards that a police vehicle and an unmarked car were parked outside their home throughout that evening.

* In Natal a group of unidentified men wearing camouflage uniforms killed seven local ANC activists at Folweni near Durban on Sunday evening. They shot all seven in the back of the head - killing the youngest, 14-year-old Nhlanhla Makhanya, in front of his mother - in what the Human Rights Commission described as "well-planned executions". On the same evening unknown attackers killed four ANC supporters in Mgwaveni near Durban. In the wake of the killings, the National Union of Metalworkers of

South Africa (Numsa), where Ntuli worked until transferring to Cast early this year, reported that two of its organisers were being followed regularly by unidentified men. This follows ANC complaints that several of its officials - most recently spokesperson Gill Marcus - were under regular surveillance. [Own correspondent]

Seven policemen have been charged with murdering 11 people and attempting to murder eight others in 1988 at Trust Feed, near the farming town of New Hanover.

According to the charge sheet, the late head of the Pietermaritzburg riot unit, Major Deon Terblanche, lent police to the Inkatha leader Jerome Gabela to kill rivals.

Terblanche was killed last year by a member of his own unit, Roy Ngcobo, who was shot dead in mysterious circumstances after his arrest. Before being shot dead, Ngcobo had said he wanted to reveal information about Terblanche's political activities.

Questions about a political cover-up are likely to dominate the trial.

Now further trials alleging hit squads and links between state security forces and Inkatha vigilantes are expected in Natal.

[Own correspondent]

Army and police hit-squads may separately have hunted Chief

DURBAN/ At least two hit squads - one police the other army - may have been hunting the vocal government critic, Chief Mhlabunzima Maphumulo, according to evidence led at this week's Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court inquest into his assassination.

Maphumulo was a mainstay of the pro-African National Congress traditional leaders' organisation, Contralesa.

A young police constable claimed in a surprise turn that he and a number of colleagues attacked Maphumulo in his home and car prior to him being gunned down on February 25.

The surprise witness, Constable Lucky James Mntambo, has been voluntarily detained in near-solitary confinement at Westville Prison after he was shot in the left arm last week by men he claimed were policemen.

Mntambo specified that he did not want to talk to any member of the South African or KwaZulu police forces.

Mntambo's statement came as the star witness for the Maphumulo family, military agent, Sipho Madlala, risked being discredited.

Madlala claimed he was employed by a military unit known as "the killers" for five years at R750 a month. Victims included a University of Zululand academic who has antagonised KwaZulu Chief Minister Buthelezi, ANC activists and enemies of an Inkatha councillor, said Madlala.

Last week Madlala promptly correctly identified two out of 14 men in civilian dress as SADF employee Sabasaba and a Staff Sergeant Grobler. The first, said Madlala, was a fellow hit squad member who actually shot Maphumulo, while Grobler was their superior, the man who kept a two-page hit list in his office.

However, some of his other claims have fallen through in court.

The inquest has been adjourned until October 21, when one of the policemen implicated in the killing is expected to testify. This is the same security policeman who in 1988 allegedly bought 24 revolvers at a cost of R19,200 for Inkatha members.

The inquest will overlap with the Trust Feeds mass murder trial due to begin on October 15 in the same building.

Maphumulo helped the people of Trust Feeds fight a forced removal to KwaZulu. Their success may have triggered a police backlash - the charge sheet alleged that police shot dead eight people in December 1988 in the belief that they were "rivals" of Inkatha and KwaZulu.